The CRISIS

MAY, 1957

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The August and September issues of *The Crisis* are likewise combined issues — August and September. This August-September issue will be out on September 1, 1957.

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 64, No. 5 **Whole Number 543**

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May, 1957

COVER

Faith Joyce Daniels of Brooklyn, N. Y., daughter of Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair Daniels, was educated at Junior High School #85 and the High School of Industrial Arts, New York City. Seventeen-year-old Miss Daniels' ambition is to be a fashion designer. Her hobbies are singing, dancing, dramatics, cooking, and sketching.—Photo by Layne's Studio.

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THE REVEREND MR. MILTON A. GALMISON, *president of the Brooklyn, New York, branch of the NAACP accepts a $500 check for an NAACP life membership from Mrs. Iris Brown, treasurer, on behalf of the Brooklyn, New York, chapter of the Girl Friends, while president Mrs. Margaret Turner looks on.*

■ An analysis of the Chicago racial pattern which made possible the senseless murder of Alvin Palmer in March

Chicago — Poignancy and Platitudes

By Gerald D. Bullock

WHEN young Alvin Palmer fell on a street corner of Chicago's Westside, March 11, 1957, this 17-year old honor student was only the latest of several victims of similar attacks in the Windy City. Two respectable Negro citizens had been beaten to death in the summer of 1956, only a few months before and only a few weeks apart. Young Palmer, his skull shattered by blows from a ball-peen hammer, died ten hours after the blows were struck by a member of a youthful white gang known as the Rebels, who admit they were out in automobiles on a "Negro hunt."

Alvin Palmer was an inoffensive youngster; the only son of very religious parents, Mr. and Mrs. Elijah Palmer. Mr. Palmer operates an appliance store on West 59th St., only a few blocks from where his son was struck down. The mother plays the piano for their church, the Church of God in Christ, located in the Englewood area at 61st and May Streets. Alvin, a senior, attended the recently racially integrated Farragut High School, and he was to have graduated in June.

His assailants did not know young Palmer. They bore him no grudge, personally. They were not bent on robbery. Nor was this a case of mistaken identity. These boys, who ranged in age from 15 to 17 years, knew exactly what they were doing in the limited sense that juveniles can comprehend the reasons for or consequences of their sometimes irrational actions. They were apprehended two days later as the result of some unusual police work on the part of a young police officer. In custody, charged with premeditated murder, they are said to have confessed. The principal culprit, Joseph Schwartz, also 17 years old, admitted, according to police, that he had wielded the hammer in this senseless crime. State's Attorney Ben Adamowski vowed he would take

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GERALD D. BULLOCK *is president of the Illinois state conference of NAACP branches.*

every one of them before the Grand Jury and demand first degree murder indictments.

A few days later the Cook County Grand Jury returned true bills charging premeditated murder against thirteen of the boys and ordered two others to be held as accessories after the fact. Adamowski announced he would seek the death penalty for the thirteen and severe sentences for the others.

Apart from shock over the tragedy of Palmer's death, and sympathy for the terrible grief of his parents, bereft of their only child, Chicago seemed to miss the point of this whole affair. Newspapers gave the story considerable news space, a departure from usual practises, probably because they could, and did, editorially equate it with other stories of youthful depredations which had been disturbing the Chicago community for some time. Leading citizens, colored and white, angrily denounced the crime. They consoled the parents of the victim, praised the quick action of the police in making arrests in the case and excoriated juvenile delinquency. But only the local and state officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seemed to realize that this was not a case of juvenile delinquency in the normal application of that term.

JUST A "NIGGER-HUNT"

True, juvenile delinquency has become a national plague and Chicago attention has recently been focussed on the problem by a particularly atrocious motel murder committed during a holdup and charged to one of these young "mobs." But this was quite a different case, with social implications of a different nature and certainly more far-reaching in terms of community responsibility than the ordinary irresponsibility of some youth.

The NAACP pointed out that Joseph Schwartz and his friends of that evening have confessed they were following through on plans for a "nigger-hunt." They had been bored and their usual mode of recreation, whatever that may have been, held no interest for them. They had simply agreed to pile into two automobiles and set out in search of a Negro to abuse in typical gang fashion. They found one, Alvin Palmer, innocently awaiting a bus at the corner of 59th and Kedzie. They assaulted him because they felt it was not a wrong thing to do. And they had been persuaded to this seemingly strange opinion by the mores of the community in which they had dwelt for most of their young lives.

East of their homes lies the sprawling "Black Belt," an area roughly seven and one-half miles long and ranging from one to three and one-half miles in width. Into this space has been crowded most of Chicago's 700,000 citizens of Negro ancestry. For nearly half a century they were held in a rigidly proscribed area by restrictive written agreements attached to property titles, and descending with the land from owner to owner. In 1948 the United States Supreme Court outlawed these agreements, holding them unenforceable in the courts. Almost immediately, in Chicago,

there began a slow but steady southward and westward expansion of the black belt, with a less definite eastward movement. Negroes were attempting to escape the confines of what has been described as the most densely populated living space in the civilized world.

The advent of a Negro family into a "white" neighborhood was usually the signal for sharp and often violent reaction in the community. Few Chicago organizations hailed the end of enforceable restrictive covenants with any joy. Many openly opposed freedom of movement for the Negro. The fact that Southern pressures and the city's industrial-job attractiveness were bringing many thousands of colored citizens into the community was largely ignored. Numerous new organizations were formed, in the guise of "improvement associations," for the plain purpose of holding the jim-crow line in housing.

The pattern from 1949 until the present has been fairly consistent in terms of this effort to maintain the status quo. The homes of newcomers of darker hue were bombed or set afire; the occupants were threatened, and in some cases physically molested. When these tactics failed, as they invariably have, white residents, often urged to such action by greedy real estate operators, both colored and white, sold their property and fled to the suburbs. Chicago police and prosecuting authorities did little to discourage this violence. Mobs were allowed to gather on the streets, disturbing the peace and blocking traffic; meetings to plot defiance of law were frequently held in local churches and desperate plans advanced to maintain or regain the lily-white status of a "threatened" area. An ancient tribal philosophy had replaced the basic American ideals which most of these same people would, if questioned, earnestly avow.

RIOTOUS INCIDENTS

Most of the city's leadership, political, civic and religious, stood by in uneasy futility, trying desperately to favor both sides at the same time. There were riotous incidents in widely separated communities when Negro tenants or buyers appeared. Airport Homes, a Federal housing project for veterans; Fernwood, a white community which had been separated, as many were, from space conceded to Negro occupancy, by only a single, narrow thoroughfare (95th St.); Park Manor, Chatham, Chesterfield, Burnham and Oak Park all saw futile violence. In Trumbull Park, Chicago Housing Authority project, police details sometimes numbering as high as 1,500 officers wandered helplessly through three years of incessant anarchy. It is no exaggeration to say the entire Southside was terrorized and the city lived in constant fear of a repetition of the horrible race-war of 1919, which cost some two-score lives and resulted in huge property damage.

Many agencies, private and public, but most of them of the interracial character of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the Urban League, the local units of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the NAACP, plus a sparse collection of small community conser-

vation organizations, put up a struggle against these dangerous attitudes and happenings. But most of Chicago stood silent.

Silence did not always mean disapproval of the horrendous conditions. When pressed, leading churchmen, civic leaders, university and college officials and political bigwigs usually sought refuge in a maze of self-contradictory platitudes. The line was: deplore, deny, and disappear as rapidly as possible. No responsible, elected official of high authority was willing to face the issue of continuing violation of the law and do something about it.

There can be little wonder that the youth of the city has become infected. Race trouble has permeated many of Chicago's high schools: Lindblom, Parker, Hirsch, Englewood, John Marshall, Hyde Park, and Harper high schools all have been the scenes of more or less unhappy incidents grounded in racial misunderstanding. Quick, if not entirely thorough, action by school authorities has always succeeded in preventing extremely serious consequences *at the scene*. But these boys and girls, colored and white, were being subjected to pressures and influences which could not fail to have a lasting effect.

American youth is taught to respect government. Early in its school experience it is taught the rudiments of the basic principles upon which our government is founded. But youth does not always learn well all it should know *about* these principles. Just *what* do they encompass? What do they mean in terms of our individual, personal lives? These remain large question marks in the minds of average boys and girls because, somehow, our schools have failed to teach the translation of high principle into personal attitudes, unbiased human evaluations, and sound practises of everyday living.

"EXPATRIATE ISLANDS"

Thus, young Americans are left to their own interpretations. They quickly learn that ours is a highly competitive society. And that much of this competition is operating on a group basis. In our large cities, even in those cases where there is not the pressure of organized hate groups to intensify the process, peoples of different nationality background and racial identity tend to collect in relatively homogeneous groups. This tendency can and should be modified without treading on anyone's rights. It is simply a matter of education and appropriate social action, a concrete awareness of the evils certain to be engendered by such segregation. In these expatriate islands age-old nationalistic and racial prejudices flourish and spread. Eventually they take on the coloration of important "causes." Youth has found something important and very personal to defend, and an "enemy" to attack. The results, though not always fatal, as in the case of Alvin Palmer, are invariably tragic for all our hopes of full realization of our destinies as one people, Americans.

Just take a look at the high schools of any of our large cities. Due to the development of national and racial patterns of living, these secondary schools have become little na-

tions within the community. Attendance and fellowship within their walls become a progressive educational experience in isolationism, nationalism, racism and the most insidious chauvinism. Inter-school competition, whether athletic or scholastic, engenders no healthful zest for victory on behalf of the school itself, only a pressing urge to prove oneself superior to the particular national or racially derivative group represented by the opposition.

These social judgements have not been made without considerable aid from the general American community and culture. In the scale of evaluation of human worth, our history books, our approved social patterns, our employment practices, our private personal comment, even the policies and practises of most of our churches have almost invariably placed the Negro at the bottom.

Do we not have a history of lynching of Negroes without rival in the annals of present-day social action? (And there is no doubt thousands of Americans look upon this as social action, not murder in the usual sense.) Is is not true that lynching of Negroes has been historically an unpunishable crime? Does not this make it apparent to the juvenile mind that Negroes can be "justifiably" assaulted without fear of more than token community censure? Emmett Till, a Chicago boy, died horribly in Mississippi at the hands of two white supremacists who were pardoned by their peers in the community, and every white boy in Chicago knows stories of indignities or abuse visited upon some hapless Negro without retaliation or retribution.

These are the patterns of devel-

(*Continued on page* 318)

Mr. and Mrs. Elijah Palmer stand at the bedside of their son Alvin, 17, just before he died in Chicago, Illinois, on March 21, after being attacked with a ball-peen hammer by a gang of white teenagers.

United Press

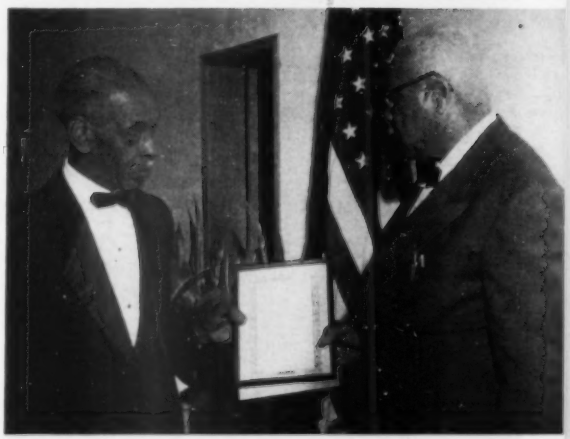
William Hart (right), president of Negro Benevolent Society of New York City Department of Sanitation, presents Madison Jones (left), NAACP special assistant for housing, with initial NAACP life membership payment for the NBS, while John Skeets, NBS vice-president, looks on.

Donald Duncan, assistant professor of mathematics at San José State College, San José, California, receives his NAACP life membership plaque from Mrs. Inez Jackson, co-chairman of the branch life membership committee. Mr. Duncan is the first paid-up NAACP life member in the local branch.

John Bedford (right), treasurer of Club Convocare, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, presents check for initial payment on Club's NAACP life membership. Others pictured (from L) are James Bradford, president; Probyn Thompson, Brooklyn branch; and Rev. Milton Galamison.

Ruth Steele, social committee chairman of Barber-Scotia alumnae chapter, makes initial NAACP life payment for her chapter to Russell Crawford, president New York branch, while Mrs. Maetroy Brown (left), alumnae president, and Gertrude Gorman, NAACP field secretary, look on.

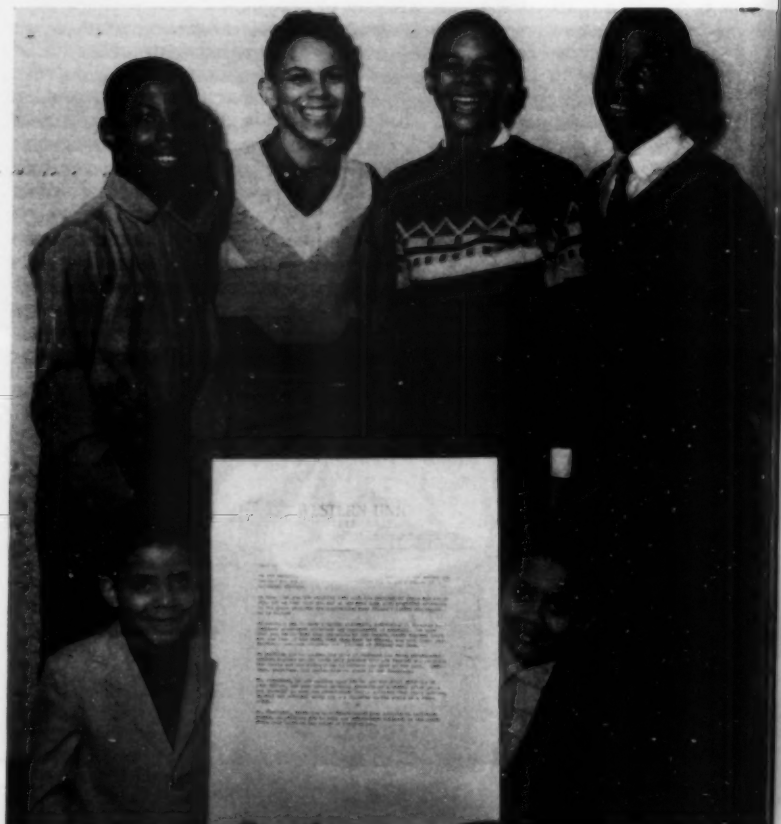
Layne's



Theodore Moss (right), retired San José, California, plumber receives special service award from a charter branch member, Charles Davis. Mr. Moss has given 25-years of service to the local branch.

Joseph C. Fulcher (left) and Donald Allen, treasurer, of the Paterson, New Jersey, NAACP youth council. This is one of the more recently organized NAACP youth councils.

Herman Irving



Jerry Jones

YOUTHFUL PETITIONERS—*These youngsters, all of New York City, succeeded in getting more than 500 signatures to a petition, which they attached to a telegram, asking President Eisenhower to "use the great prestige of his office as well as his personal prestige" to halt the acts of violence against Negroes in the South for asking for public school integration. The telegram was sent on March 11. Pictured are (kneeling, from L) Darrell Brown and Frederick Jones; standing from L, Eugene Edey, Robert Brown, Jr., Bruce Porter, and James Edey.*

■ This author offers three explanations for white fear of the Negro as a neighbor

The Negro as Neighbor*

By Balfour Brickner

I WILL assume, if I may, that you have invited a clergyman here this evening to set the "moral tone" for this discussion of how to develop better race relations and better community standards. "Setting the moral tone" all too often means speaking in generalities about the inherent rights of man, the fact that he is created equal by God, and that, after all, it is not "right" to discriminate against our fellow citizens. Usually, the more glittering these generalities, the more beautifully they are couched in language vague enough to sound almost profound, the better received is the clergyman's message.

Forgive me if I depart from that tradition this evening. All of us know how religion generally and Judaism specifically feels about the theme of equality and equal opportunity. The Psalmist said it long, long ago when he wrote in his 133rd Psalm: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." As a matter of fact this brief litany has been set to music and is part of the liturgy of the Jewish service of worship.

If this community is in any ways typical, I would venture that there are at least a dozen churches and synagogues in the area committed in principle to the ideal of non-discrimination and most of you sitting in this meeting are members of one of these churches or synagogues, in some ways associated with it; and, broadly speaking, identified as subscribing to their doctrine of equality as part of their religious credo.

Yet, in spite of all this, you are faced with the dilemma which has brought you to this meeting. You

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RABBI BALFOUR BRICKNER, *spiritual leader of Temple Sinai, Washington's newest Reform Jewish congregation, is a native of Cleveland, Ohio. He was educated in Cleveland's public and private schools, the University of Cincinnati, and the Hebrew Union College. He served in the U. S. Navy during World War II from 1944 to 1946.*

* A talk originally delivered as part of a three-man panel before the Lamond-Riggs Citizen Association, Washington, D.C. The original title was "Better Race Relations and Better Community Standards."

have a housing problem. Non-whites are moving into your area. This is precipitating the sale of homes in the area and the general fear that the neighborhood might "turn," and the value of your homes might deteriorate. Let us not minimize the reality of this fear, or the extent to which it motivates your present and future actions. It is real. It is pressing.

"Why," we might ask ourselves, "should we be faced with such a concern, particularly in the light of the fact that we consider ourselves "religious people."

THREE REASONS

As I see it there are three important reasons for our fears:

- We wear our religion as a veneer and not as a conviction which we apply to our daily life. As such, our good intentions are laid aside when it comes to the "business of life."
- We feel that we are caught in a vicious economic circle which makes us say "we cannot afford the luxury of our religious convictions," and
- We often let our emotions and our prejudices control us rather than having them in our control.

Before dealing with the present situation, let us first understand what brings it about. Why is it that Negroes are suddenly interested in moving into "our" home area?

First and foremost, we must realize that the Negro is enjoying better educational and economic opportunities than ever before. The Negro sees the "ads" in the paper, that we see, enticing him to a "home and garden" and they, like us, are interested in physically improving themselves. They have the financial wherewithal to acquire better living conditions and they are naturally beginning to seek them whenever they are to be found. Place yourself in their position. Where would you look for better schools, better recreational facilities, finer shopping areas, good transportation, to say nothing of grass and fresh air? Would you look in the decayed heart of a city, where substandard dwelling units, rotting on their foundations, are almost all that is available? Would you look in an area that has become a "ghetto" by overcrowding? Obviously not. We must understand that the Negro does not start out by "wanting to live among whites." He starts out by wanting to live—to live like any American "in a ranch type home, with three bedrooms, near a good school, away from traffic yet near transportation." He knows of the 1948 decision of the Supreme Court making restrictive covenants illegal and so he has no timidity in looking on "your street."

I must say that it takes a good deal of courage on the part of a prospective Negro home buyer to look on "your street," for he is greeted with a number of vicious objections, both spoken and unspoken. He is greeted with resentment, if not hostility, with prejudice and with fear. But most of all he knows that there are a number of canards that exist in the minds of many of his prospective neighbors that are liable to totally invalidate anything that he might wish to do to prove his good neighborly intentions. Let us look at some of them.

PROPERTY WELL KEPT

First of all he knows that many white people believe that "Negroes do not keep up their property." Is this actually so?

The Wharton School of Finance does not believe so. In a study made recently they reported the following:

Most black ghettos were opened to Negro occupancy only when they were already obsolete. Thus the slum existed before the Negro moved in; only it became more overcrowded because the Negro had no other place to go.

Who, I ask you, wishes to "keep up" a slum? There is no validity in trying to infer that Negroes do not keep up property merely by looking at slum areas in which Negroes now live.

The problem of upkeep is often intensified by the fact that many of these inadequate dwellings are rented at exhorbitant rental fees, drawing cash from what could be improvements and necessitating multi-family dwelling in one family units in order to keep up the rental payments.

The second canard:

"Negroes moving into an area mean a depreciation in the values of the area."

Here a strange thing is happening. This feeling, for that is all it is, is easily exploited by the unscrupulous who wish to "buy cheap and sell dear." Unethical realtors relish the existence of such a belief and actually do what they can to encourage it. They play upon our basest emotions, our most elemental prejudices, our most virulent fears in order to panic former occupants of homes into leaving. Thus paradoxically enough it is not the Negro moving into the area that performs the dark alchemy of lowering prices and values, it is our own hysteria which accomplishes the thing we fear most. If we held on to our property, if we said "our house is not for sale" to the real estate agent who calls to slyly inform us that "a Negro has moved into the area, you better sell while you can still get a decent price," we would do much to eliminate the falsehood that "Negroes moving into an area lead to a depreciation of values."

"SHOCK PASSES"

Experience shows that once the "shock" of a Negro moving into a community passes, the neighborhood, if it is stable, has a tendency to settle down. It is the bigot, the hothead and the rabble-rouser who try to prevent this, who try to inflame the situation. By letting ourselves be so aroused, we become like one of them. This problem is *not* an unbreakable vicious circle. It does not even require "one outstanding, courageous man." The desired effect can be gained by quiet societal decisions, tacitly understood in a neighborhood, among groups like this civic association. Let such groups go on record as not being afraid of a mixed neighborhood and it will soon be known as a stable one and a good place to live.

Within the past year the University of Minnesota made a study of housing in one of the large cities of Minnesota. Among the conclusions of the study is the following:

Those who live close to Negro neighbors, those who have more contact with them, are more favorable

to Negroes and to interracial association generally than those who live farther away.

Insofar as the limited data of this survey of Minneapolis can be generalized, if the residential pattern of northern cities takes the form of a scattering of Negro families in predominantly white areas, the prognosis is that this would tend to increase the acceptance and accommodation of Negroes by whites. Since it is only in the very largest cities of the North that Negroes constitute more than ten per cent of the population, such a scattering is most likely to result from a free and open real estate market.

There are other untruths that the Negro must overcome when contemplating "a move to the suburbs."

It is said, all too glibly, that "when you sell to a Negro the community 'turns.'"

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IDENTICAL

This is sometimes true, but let us see where it usually happens. Usually the community that "turns" is either an old and deteriorating neighborhood or in a place where the Negro population has become quite large and where there is a concomitant "flight to the suburbs" by the white population, leaving behind good areas of housing. The speed with which Negroes move in only indicates how desperate is their need for decent housing. It should serve as a warning to us that we cannot dam up any segment of our population, and that the most secure kind of housing in terms of values is the housing that is mixed and which permits racial groups to generally scatter throughout the community.

Negroes do not live any different from white people. All too often this lie develops as a result of fallacious and unfair comparisons between economic groups. Group for group, the behavior patterns of whites and Negroes are identical. One cannot compare the social patterns of poor Negroes with middle class whites, any more than one can fairly compare the social patterns of "white trash" with white aristocracy. The tendency to make these odious comparisons is heightened by the fact that unfortunately there are more poor Negroes in proportion to their population than there are poor whites. This gives the false impression that all Negroes live differently from white people. It is merely part of the overall problem of "stereotyping" groups of people. Such stereotyping is hardly ever valid.

Finally, there is what I call the "bogyman argument." This is supposed to be the "clinching" argument when all others fail. It usually runs something like this: "Well, do you want your child to marry a Negro?" It used to be said more frequently about Jews, Catholics, Italians, and Irishmen. It has always been said about minority groups.

INTERMARRIAGE NOT ISSUE

Let us be completely candid. Intermarriage* does take place and will continue to take place in our increasingly democratic society. But its

* Twenty-five American states, more than half, prohibit marriages between whites and Negroes. Many states also prohibit marriages between whites, Mongolians, Malays, etc.—Editor.

incidence is not very great when compared to the over-all marriage picture. It is the exception rather than the rule, even among minority groups that are now generally accepted. The real question is to what degree are you willing to limit your religious ethics, circumscribe your democratic ideal, restrict your individual freedom, in order to prevent supposed, infrequent and all too often hypothetical intermarriages? Are you really willing to say that having worked all day beside a Negro he shall return at nightfall to a "ghetto" and not come out again until working time tomorrow? I, as a Jew, as one who knows too much about ghettoization and its products, am not willing to say "yes" to these most basic queries.

All of us, as Americans, should by now have seen too much of the products of this type of behavior to say "yes" to such a question. Those of you who worry about intermarriage would do far better to take issue with us clergymen who preach "the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God," than by refusing to live in a neighborhood with a Negro. The danger of intermarriage is more materially enhanced by advocating the former than it is by practicing the latter. I would welcome such an argument, for I do not believe we are yet ready to eliminate this principle of "fatherhood" from our American heritage no matter how often we attempt to eliminate it from our daily life.

Let the Negro of our community live where he wishes to live and where he can afford to live. This is the far easier and the far better way, and let us learn to live with him. Some people will always choose a ghetto, some will choose "our block." Only as we open our housing areas to all people, and decide to remain in them because they have the facilities we seek, will we be through with this impossible "ghetto building" and, more important, will be be through with evading our own better selves. This is America, 1957. The very things we are so desperately struggling to preserve in the world are at stake literally in our own back yards. Think about that before you let yourself be panicked into selling your house, before you strip away your religious veneer, before you discredit your democratic values by putting a "For Sale" sign on your home because a Negro whom you do not even know moves into a home down "your" street!

BRANCHES, MAKE YOUR PREPARATION NOW

FOR THE 48th

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN — JUNE 25-JUNE 30.

FREEDOM FUND GIFT—*Shirley Brooks presents James Speller, president of the Bronx NAACP youth council, a $50 check on behalf of the Claremont Community Center, Bronx, New York, for the NAACP Fight for Freedom Fund. The money was raised by teen-age groups through a talent show jointly sponsored by the council and the community center. Pictured, from L, are Marion McCough, Speller, Erskine Parrom, Miss Brooks, Barbara Bernard, and Barbara Pratt.*

■ Americans are now realizing that a democracy means equality for all races and creeds

Segregation — a Dying Institution

By Martin Margolit

THE day of legally sanctioned segregation is drawing to a close. With each new Supreme Court decision that reiterates the basic right of all Americans to equal use of and treatment in public facilities, it becomes increasingly evident that the United States has entered a period of social responsibility far greater than we have ever known.

To predict at this juncture an end to discrimination against Negroes would be folly indeed, since history provides us with abundant proof that prejudice, unfortunately, is almost as thoroughly ingrained in the make-up of human beings as the natural instincts of hunger, fear and self-preservation. But, barring a sudden reversal in the thinking of the majority of Americans, and especially the Supreme Court, it appears safe to say that overt segregation and the biracial tradition in the South are dying institutions. In perhaps ten years the Negro will fall into the category of other minority groups such as the Jews, the Italians, and, in some instances, Catholics generally, whose lot it is to have achieved full first-class citizenship on the surface while being denied it in a subtle fashion in certain types of employment, election to certain political offices, and in entry to certain professional schools.

The reason for the imminent demise of jim crow is due in some measure to the realization by many Americans that they are secure in their enjoyment of our democratic privileges only so long as those privileges are extended equally to all citizens. There is a growing awareness in our nation of the need to protect the rights of the individual against the encroachments of domestic demagogues as well as alien philosophies, and the Negro, together with all of us, is a natural beneficiary of such thinking.

MARTIN MARGOLIT, *an attorney-at-law active in local NAACP work, lives in Camden, New Jersey.*

CLIMATE OF OPINION

The prevailing climate of public opinion is, however, only part of the reason for the gradual eclipse of racial segregation. By far the greatest contribution to this latest emancipation of the Negro has been made by the Negro himself. That entire race appears to have experienced a revelation of its potential strength, for the colored man today is a far different person from what he was a few years ago. His goal has not changed, but there is one tremendous difference: he now knows that he will achieve it.

Those who doubt the ultimate emergence of the Negro to full equality in law and in fact ought to attend a few NAACP meetings in their community, especially the mass meetings to which the public is invited. It has been my privilege to attend a number of such meetings. I recall one in particular, for it typified the resurgent spirit of the new Negro and left a lasting impression on me.

It was April, 1956. The place: Camden, New Jersey. Outside the gymnasium of the colored YMCA a cold spring rain poured from foreboding skies, but that huge room was filled to capacity. Over 300 men, women and children, dressed in their Sunday finery, had assembled to hear a firsthand report on the situation of their brethren in the South.

One of ten guests, I sat on the platform as representative of the American Jewish Congress. Except for three men in the last row, I was the only white person present.

The speaker was Mrs. Ruby Hurley, tall, attractive and articulate, one of the leaders of the southeastern region of the NAACP. From where I sat I was afforded an excellent opportunity to observe the reaction to the speaker's words on the faces in the audience. One thing particularly intrigued me: their rapt attention. Though Mrs. Hurley spoke for more than an hour, no one fidgeted; even the youngest children listened as intently as if she were speaking to them alone.

SPEAKER AND AUDIENCE

They smiled when she smiled, laughed when she related a humorous story, nodded appreciatively when she purposely abandoned her flawless diction to effect a southern drawl, bit their lips and squinted when she told of unpunished crimes against Negroes in Mississippi, and shook their heads disconsolately when she spoke of economic reprisals against courageous Negroes and their white sympathizers.

There was a kinship between speaker and audience which can exist only when both derive from a common background. It called for little imagination on the part of the audience to visualize the indignities related to them, for these were familiar stories. Names, places, facts perhaps slightly different, but there was no variance in the underlying theme of second-class citizenship.

Tears of understanding moistened the eyes of some of the older folks when Mrs. Hurley told of the persistent melancholy that had gripped her when she lived in the South, a feeling she had not been able to diagnose until she came North. Then she discovered the reason: constant

inner resentment over being segregated in the bus she took to work each morning.

Exercising little restraint, for she was, after all, a Negro among her own people, the speaker mentioned without hesitation the misbegotten lies that Negroes are descended from apes (this drew laughter), that they are inferior to other human beings, and many of the other baseless falsehoods that are circulated and accepted as facts by bigots and hatemongers.

I sought in vain to detect signs of bitterness in the faces before me, and I strained my ears to catch the mumbling tones of angry dissent one might reasonably expect from people who are listening to a libel against themselves. But I neither saw a reproachful gesture nor heard a sound of recrimination. And I remember wondering at that moment whether there were any other people anywhere who would have exercised such remarkable self-control.

SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING

I was profoundly impressed by the amazing lack of passion and the spirit of understanding manifested by that audience—an attitude which I have witnessed again and again among Negroes. I could hardly have failed to feel, also, the unanimity, the oneness, that appeared to weld together all of the people in the room.

These two factors, Negro unity and the unemotional manner in which they have attacked the barriers of segregation, are of cardinal importance in evaluating the struggle of the colored man to attain equal status with the white man. If the highly efficient leadership that has so far steered the Negro from one achievement to another can successfully maintain both this notable level of unity and this disdain of passion, one need hardly be a prophet to foresee the day of full equality.

The phenomenon of Negro unity deserves attention. It is an awe-inspiring happening that has taken place since the Supreme Court began in 1947 to declare various aspects of segregation unlawful. It was then that the dawn of a new era became a visible reality to an entire race. Old men and women, to whom equality was a fantasy to be enjoyed only in their dreams, suddenly were imbued with the belief that they might yet know the glory of true freedom in their lifetimes. And the youth were charged with a quiet fervor, their very beings surging with the wonder that came with knowing that theirs was likely to become the first generation of American Negroes to attain first-class citizenship. Now, for the first time, all Negroes, young and old, wealthy and poor, learned and uneducated, are progressing hopefully in a common direction.

The recent bus strike in Montgomery is the most notable example of unity among Negroes. Their magnificent stand is surely destined to become a legend among the annals of man's nonviolent resistance to the forces which would deny him his dignity. Montgomery's Negroes, meek but never weak, have succeeded far beyond the hopes of the most optimistic among them. As a direct result of their resolute determination and their quiet courage in the face

of abuse and threats of reprisal, they have evoked a declaration from the Supreme Court which goes far beyond the solution of their immediate problem of segregation on the busses of Montgomery. Their efforts may have signalled the end of jim crow in all forms of public transportation everywhere in the United States.

GUIDED BY RELIGION

I have often wondered, when reviewing the Montgomery situation, how an objective person could fail to sympathize with the position of the Negroes and, comparing their methods and purposes with those of their opponents, fail to wish them godspeed. They countered ill-will with understanding, violence with passive resistance, unreason with toleration, vindictiveness with forgiveness. How discomfiting this must have been to the people who consider them inferior.

Deeply religious, they have, unlike many of their oppressors, been guided by their religious beliefs to apply the precepts of the Ten Commandments to their dealings with the white man. They, in fact, brought to light the simultaneous success and failure of religious influence in the South, since white southerners have largely ignored the mandate of their churches, almost all of which publicly proclaimed their support of the Supreme Court segregation decisions.

The Negroes displayed to the world a maturity of outlook and a personal dignity which must certainly arouse admiration, though secret, from even their severest critics. One now hears without surprise of hard-headed Southerners who reluctantly acknowledge they have never seen the like of their Negro neighbors, and even the most biased minds must be revising their estimates of the race they were taught to look down upon.

The quality of Negro determination is especially apparent at their mass meetings. At those I have attended it has been the practice to install a collection box at the head of the room. Then following a brief plea for funds to support the current venture in the South, the audience rises to a man and files in orderly procession to deposit contributions to the future of democracy. Most of the people are poor, hard-working folk whose dedication to the ideal of ultimate equality is indeed inspirational. Walking with them and making my own small contribution has been a richly satisfying experience, for here are people who have never wavered in their faith in an America which has yet to fulfill her promise to them.

The handwriting of freedom has been emblazoned on the wall of segregation. The entire world, particularly the dark-skinned millions in Asia and Africa, watches with great interest as the United States goes about solving this most perplexing of her international problems. To most of the world our handling of the blight of segregation is the barometer by which they will judge the sincerity of our claims to democracy.

The elimination of second-class citizenship for Negroes will provide convincing evidence that our nation has at last attained the maturity so richly promised in the Bill of Rights of our Constitution.

Saginaw News Photograph

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Mrs. Mable Queen (right), president of Beauticians Local #177, pays first installment on an NAACP life membership to Mrs. Carrie B. Wilson, Saginaw, Michigan, branch membership chairman. This is the first NAACP life membership to be taken out in the Saginaw branch. A second life membership was presented by Mrs. Belle Lyles for the Good Samaritan Bible Club.*

QUEEN CROWNED—*John T. Drew of the Richmond, Virginia, branch crowns Mrs. Mae W. Hall as Fairfax County Freedom Fund Queen while her attendants look on. Mrs. Hall won top honors for class two branches by reporting $1,285.45. The Fairfax county branch is the oldest rural NAACP branch in the country.* BOTTOM: *Newly elected officers of the Ridgecrest, California, branch are (from L) Wash Nichols, president; A. C. Furlong, assistant secretary; J. Terry, vice-president; M. Logan, treasurer; and Mrs. A. Jefferson, vice-president.*

Looking and Listening . . .

FAMILY LIFE

"WHITE men of good will must view the evils of family disorganization among Negroes with an alarm that is accompanied by a terrible sense of self-accusation and reproach," writes Dennis Clark, "Race and Your Family," in *America* (March 9, 1957). A staff member with the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, Mr. Clark discusses aspects of family life and their effects on race relations.

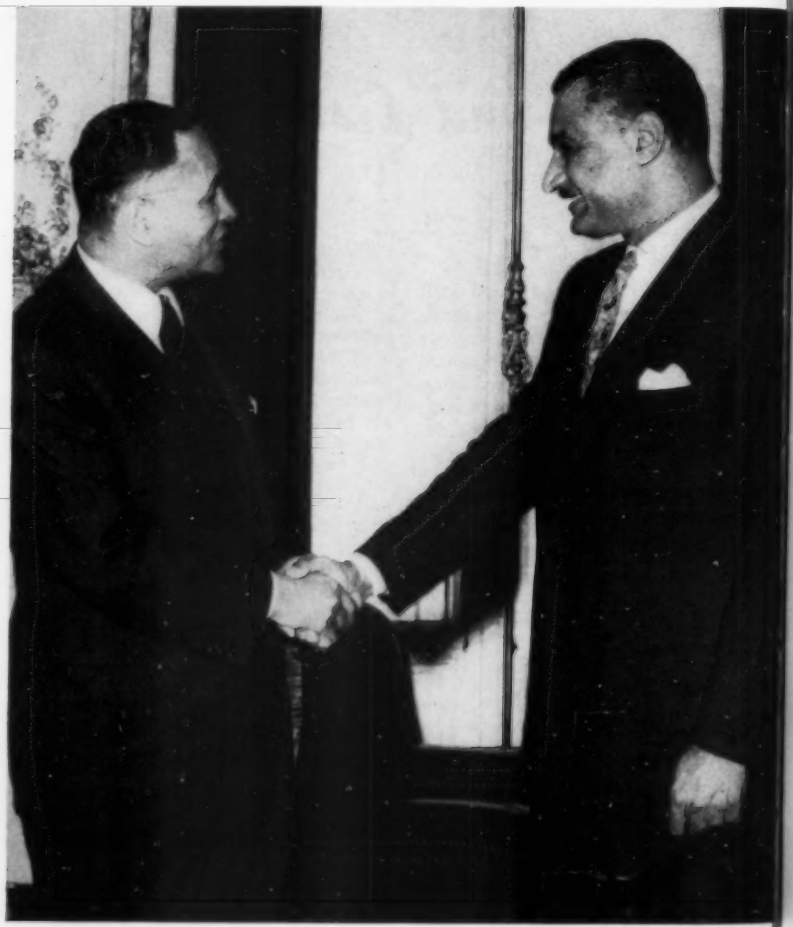
He points out that

There are special conditions in our society, moreover, that give the reactions of our families to changing racial patterns a distinctive character. Our social life has become increasingly impersonal. On the job, in the restaurant, in patronizing our commercialized recreation, we deal less and less with people as people. Many of us live daily in a world of faceless, nameless, neuter fellow citizens, with whom we deal in mechanized and transitory fashion. The high population density of our cities has almost compelled us to reduce our relationships to this crude level.

In this setting the family takes on the aspect of a last bastion of affection and personalized contact. Only in the family do many of us confront other people in a truly human and intimate way. Thus our families have peculiarly intense emotional meaning for us.

This high emotional sensitivity about the family leads us to interpret all kinds of interracial questions in terms of domestic life. In my work with dozens of adult groups in racially changing neighborhoods I have found that there is a very strong tendency to see a relationship between any suggestions of interracial contact and the family. People indifferently or grudgingly accept interracial contacts at work, in sports and in the impersonal world of daily activities, but they react almost in nervous shock at even the most minor interracial contact on the personal domestic scene. Not only do they react, but they project their anxiety, and insist upon seeing a threat to the racial exclusiveness of their domestic life where actually there is none.

Invariably, in meeting after meeting, I must answer questions about interracial marriage, dating and play groups before I can discuss anything else. If the questions are not raised immediately, I can count on their presence, dramatized and amazingly active, in the minds of the audience. They will come out sooner or later. You may be talking about employment, voting or immigration laws, but your audience seems to be alive with questions about what these broad issues mean for their homes and family members. Topics most remote from the family are translated into domestic terms in an almost automatic manner. It is quite natural that people should be concerned about their families, but the exaggerated and fearful preoccupation that people inject into



United Press

UNITED NATIONS *Assistant Secretary General Ralph Bunche (left) shakes hands with Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser as they met in Cairo, Egypt, on March 13 to discuss the latest Middle East crisis.*

interracial considerations is too often downright morbid.

The small size of our families has helped to compress the emotional life within them. Because our families are small, each person and each relationship is enhanced and magnified. There is not the flexible and resilient quality that pervades life in large families, but rather a sort of coiling-up process that makes the smaller family taut and self-conscious. . . .

Another relevant feature of American family life pointed out by sociologists is that our families are very mobile socially and eager to achieve recognized social status. Though we profess not to have any real social classes, we are in fact highly class-conscious in our family aspirations. This sensitivity to class status leads us to put a very high estimate upon things that symbolize class standing, such as club membership, residential surroundings and circles of friendship.

This status hunger serves to condition our judgments on interracial issues. It is very common for those engaged in relieving interracial tensions to find that these tensions are considerably reduced if whites can be assured that their social status is not threatened by the proximity of Negroes.

Often it is not the actual advent of Negroes in a given area that is the cause of anxiety, but the belief that the presence of 'lower-class' Negroes in their neighborhood will damage the white residents' status with friends and relatives. If the status of a Negro newcomer in a neighborhood is known to be high, this can make all the difference in the world. This status-consciousness indicates the immaturity of our community life. It is a form of social flattery; but only those who are unsure of their integrity and virtues need the support of such flattery. . . .

The conditions most widely commented upon when non-white families are mentioned are those resulting from the disorganization of the family unit. Violence, crime, desertion, juvenile neglect, illegitimacy, and so on, are all social problems that can be easily explained by the social history of whatever group is in question.

The problems and deficiencies of Negro family life are undeniably formidable barriers to full social acceptance. But the chances for a realistic understanding of these conditions are certainly not improved when the problems are exaggerated beyond their real significance, as was done recently in a congressional inquiry into school integration in Washington, D. C. We cannot ignore the fact that the disorganization of the family life of great numbers of Negroes is the mark of oppression, and that this mark is a ponderous issue in race relations.

The unfortunate conditions in large areas of Negro family life are in my judgment the critical element in the entire race-relations puzzle in our society at this time. In a democracy, public opinion is important; and there is no factor, real or imagined, that is so powerful in forming popular opinion on race relations as this issue of the quality of Negro family life. The question of greatest significance at the grass roots is the question of the moral integrity and social organization of the family. In no area of social life are the racial abuses of the past made more clear to us, and nothing disturbs us more at the present time than to behold the ravages that generations of bigotry have wrought at this most basic level. . . .

Mr. Clark concludes that "self-righteous whites will not be so quick to ascribe domestic evils in Negro families to moral weakness if they understand the effects that poverty, poor education, discouragement, bad housing and migration have on families, whether Negro or white."

CHURCHES AND INTEGRATION

ELSA KRUUSE, writing in *National Council Outlook* (March 1957) on "The Churches Act on Integration," reports that "quiet progress . . . has been made thus far in bringing Negro and white together in worship and service, [and this] is due in no small degree to education."

In commenting on the situation in New York City, the author summarizes a survey made by the Protestant Council of the City of New York. The conclusions of the survey are based on the definition that a segregated church is one in which membership and attendance are predominantly of one race. This does not presuppose, however, that members of other races do not attend. "A non-segregated church is defined as one in which there is a 'reasonable percentage' of persons of other groups, while an integrated church is one in which members of minority groups serve as officers and on boards and committees."

Applying these definitions, a survey of the four boroughs of metropolitan New York show that 51 per cent of the churches are segregated, 25 per cent non-segregated, and 24 per cent integrated. "But here, as in other cities, it was demonstrated that, in many cases, the main reason for a 'segregated' classification was geographical, as the churches that replied were in either white or Negro neighborhoods."

GHANA'S FUTURE

"THE fireworks are all over. The decorations have suffered from dust and rain storms. The distinguished visitors have gone. What is going to happen now?" questions Naomi Mitchison, Ghana correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* (March 21, 1957). Then she goes on:

It is a big question in the south, the old Colony, but a much bigger one in Ashanti and the Northern Territories, far the largest area in Ghana and with half the population. Everyone wanted independence. They had worked for it and died for it. But not everyone wanted Dr. Nkrumah's triumph along with it. And that is how it has worked out—so far.

The present Constitution gives reasonable guarantees to the northern nations, but after all it is a British White Paper, and British rule is ended. Mr. Lennox-Boyd has gone back. One can imagine Dr. Nkrumah considering it his patriotic duty to throw the whole thing into the fire and start fresh, inspired by personal victory and the acclamations of Accra and the country round it. If he were to decide to take on a Stalinist rôle and to ignore democratic parliamentary methods, he might succeed—for a time.

One hopes and prays that this is far from his intention and that he means to abide faithfully by his promises, but Dr. Nkrumah's followers have been saying exceedingly irresponsible things in his name. The Duchess had crowned him king of Ghana. He is about to fall on and liquidate his enemies. He himself, for all his almost Celtic charm, has thrown abuse around rather too wholeheartedly. When one accuses one's political opponents of sabotage and being enemies of the State, it may be just a political gesture, but it may be a build-up for something worse.

Most of the opposition is from outside the Colony. One cannot think of the Convention Peoples party and the National Liberation Movement as political parties with different political theories and ideas in the English sense. Both

stand for the rapid growth of public services, education, health, transport and so on. Neither represents a privileged class. Here we are perhaps misled by the fact that the Opposition, the N.L.M., stands for the attainment of social cohesion through an existing method: the social institution of chiefs.

As often happens in translation, we find ourselves using terms which have a different value in European and African thought. To us 'chiefs' mean hereditary rulers in the English (or Scottish) sense and all the shortcomings of Lugardism and indirect rule. But where chiefs are chosen not by the accident of birth but deliberately, out of a number of possible candidates, by a general assembly of people, and where they can be, and are, deposed if they are unsatisfactory to the people, it is as good democracy as voting by ballot, especially with an electorate which is not yet at the stage of political awareness and education as our own forefathers were in the days, say, of the Chartists, when universal suffrage first began to make sense.

The scope of the chiefs need not in any way be in conflict with that of local authorities. The pattern of chiefdom does seem to give people the sense of pattern, cohesion, and purpose which appears to be a basic human need. Chieftainship must be watched and modified and not allowed to become a privileged class, but that looks perfectly feasible when we consider that in practice the chiefs who are chosen have often been working at badly paid clerical, manual, or small technical jobs. It also probably means that women have more of a say in things than they usually have in a modern, man-geared parliamentary democracy.

If people have a social pattern of their own they are much less likely to give complete allegiance to other seekers after power, especially the modern type of savior-politician. The C.P.P. is not anxious for rivals. But there is more to it. The N.L.M. alleges that, although the districts produce most of the country's revenue, yet when the economy axe fell after the drop in cocoa prices, the cuts were practically all in Ashanti or Northern Territories projects. Dr. Nkrumah's answer may be that he has to concentrate on one or two highly dividend-paying projects which happen to be in the Colony. But when the Ashantis see their roads, schools, and hospitals cut they have a right to ask what is happening. They have a right to demand that the public good comes before jobs for the boys.

Part of their resentment is doubtless due to the fact that the Ashantis were a nation when the old Colony was still a collection of tribes. Can part of this resentment not, perhaps, be turned into creative channels? They did wonderful metal work in the past and have some remarkable young sculptors coming on.

Many of the Opposition were Dr. Nkrumah's colleagues before the split. He may hate them for it but also he knows their fire and intelligence and the mass backing behind them. He knows that he risks civil war by any further attempts to raise the Colony's status at the expense of the rest of Ghana or by any violation of civil rights. Great Britain can take no more action. But the eyes of the whole world—above all of Africa—are on Ghana now. Dr. Nkrumah cannot afford, for Ghana's sake, to be anything but truthful, scrupulously honest with himself and his followers, a man of honour and principle. Let him show us all!

"COLOUR BAR"

LORD ALTRINCHAM, Tory rebel peer who was "horrified" by Eden's Suez policy, has resigned from the finance and development committees of the Victoria League (founded in 1901 to promote friend-

ship between the peoples of the British Empire), in protest against what he says is a color bar at the League's Students' Club in Bayswater, London, England. The London *Times* (March 27, 1957) reports:

Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, chairman of the league, told *The Times* that the hostel had only 75 beds, and they did not think it wise to run a mixed hostel for all races under the conditions existing.

In his letter of resignation to Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, Lord Altrincham says that months ago he drew attention to the fact that the club was being maintained for white students only. 'I have been clinging to the hope,' he continues, 'that you would turn the existing establishment into a proper hostel for students from every part of the Commonwealth without distinction of color; or that you would raise money at once towards establishing such a hostel, and that meanwhile you would withdraw your name and support from one which is an insult to all that the league professes to stand for. Nothing, however, has been done.

'India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and now Ghana are full members of the Commonwealth, yet colored students are not admitted to a students' hostel run by a league whose purpose is to promote Commonwealth friendship and Commonwealth unity. And one of the 'reasons' which you have given me for maintaining this iniquitous state of affairs is that you do not want to alienate the South Africans. Instead of being true to our own principles and setting an example to our own compatriots (whose attitude towards colored people in this country is still not all that it should be) we are allowing ourselves to be influenced by a nation whose theory and practice of race relations is condemned by liberal opinion throughout the world and by nearly every Christian community.

'A special cause for concern is that the Queen and the Queen Mother are patrons of the league: Princess Alice is its president and Princess Margaret president of its young contingent. It is most unfair and inappropriate that the Royal Family, who symbolize the Commonwealth ideal of human brotherhood and equal partnership, should be associated —even nominally and unintentionally— with a hostel based upon the principal of *apartheid*.'

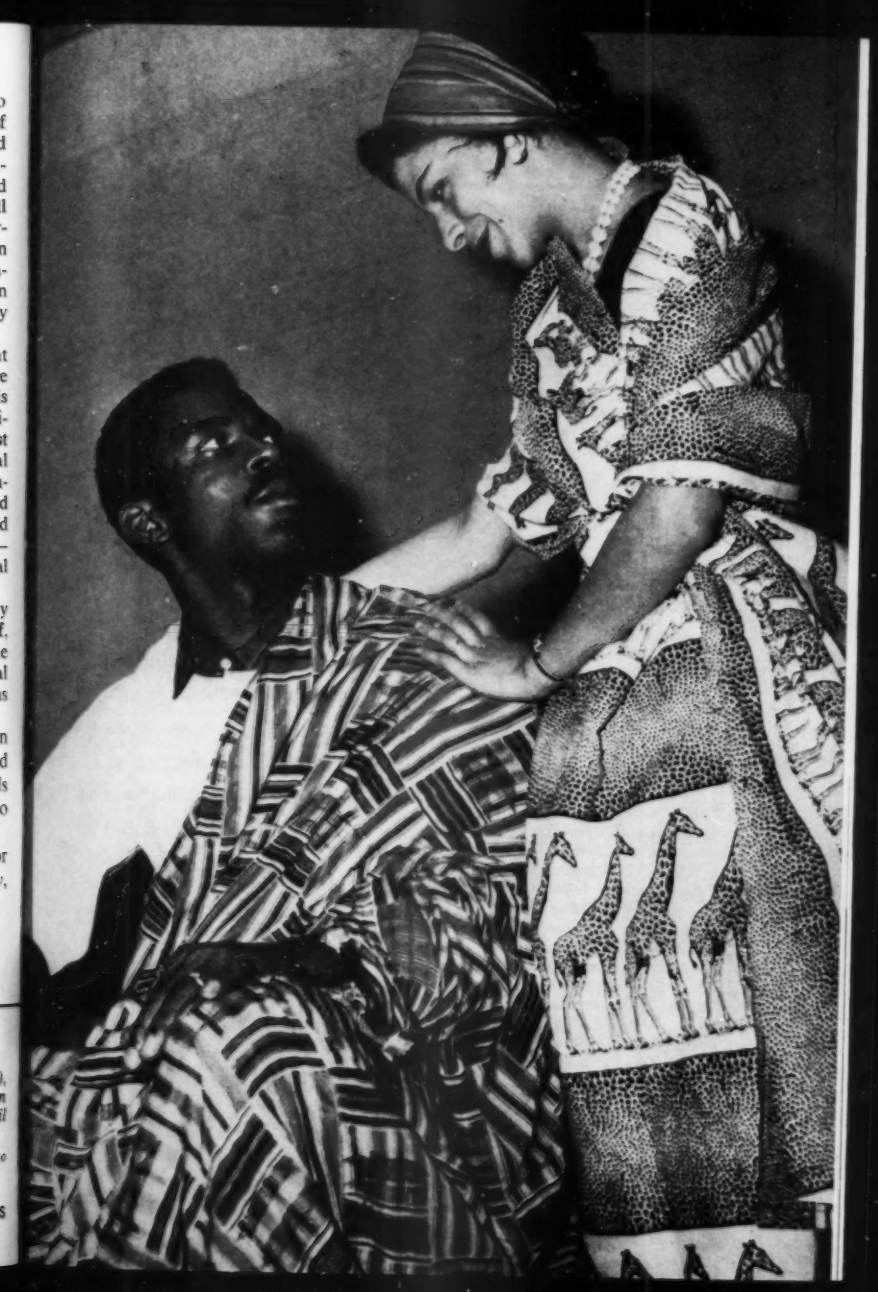
Lord Altrincham concludes: 'My quarrel is not with the league itself, which I shall continue to serve to the best of may ability, but with its central direction on one matter, which seems to me of overwhelming importance.'

Since succeeding his father in 1955, Lord Altrincham has refused to take his seat in the House of Lords on the ground that it is wrong to do so merely by inheriting a title.

He is an Old Etonian and editor of the *National and English Review*, a Conservative monthly.

JOAN HUNT ABDULLAH *(right), a New York City model (Yaa in the play), pleads with Ed Lee, a social worker (Kwami in the play), in a scene from John Akar's contemporary West African play, "Valley Without Fear," presented April 26-27 at the Community Church in New York City.*

Robert Walker Photo



hope is not enough in the struggle fo

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racial equality

Throughout a large part of America, hope runs high for eventual equality and full-scale citizenship for the American Negro. Yet hope is not enough for the child refused proper education, for the person denied his rightful legal representation, or for the family forbidden decent housing. Firm, concerted action is necessary to overcome these evils . . . the sort of action that has been and is being taken by NAACP in its struggle against racial prejudice. *Your* help, your support is needed, urgently, if NAACP is to continue effectively its championship of equal rights for all Americans. Subscribe to a Life Membership in NAACP today . . . give hope where it is needed.

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Editorial

THE WITLING OF ALCORN

DURING the month of March Professor Clennon King, then of Alcorn College, wrote a series of eight articles for the *State Times* of Jackson, Mississippi, to explode the "myths about the NAACP" and, more important, to "put his race on guard against many other fallacies surrounding the integration-segregation issue."

We have refrained until now from comment because we had not read the articles, but after reading them we are surprised to find that Mr. King creates myths (since there are no myths about the NAACP) and avoids discussion of the "integration-segregation issue." Though he abominates the NAACP, his abhorrence sprouts scurrility instead of criticism. He offers no judgment of the merits of the NAACP's ideology, its policies, its strategy, or its ultimate goals. The trick in this sort of polemic is to start from gratuitous and absurd premisses, and naturally you wind up with fantastic conclusions.

HIS objections to the Association are the ones advanced by anti-NAACP Southern whites. Hear him: Instead of frittering away its energy fighting segregation, the NAACP should be advancing the Negro. Many educated Negroes outside the South champion integration because they are "trying to be white." Mississippi Negroes are not the victims of racial injustice, because racial prejudice is not by any means confined to the South. Throughout the world, he says, "Negroes have a relatively tough time." It may be observed, too, he claims, that Southern whites who express sympathy with integration are usually insincere, and are likely to be Socialists. Moreover, the Negro race is leaderless and is therefore a prey to charlatans and demagogues. More significant, however, is his charge that the NAACP, "during election years, slips unobstrusively into the camp with one of the major political parties. Consequently NAACP is as much a tool for conniving whites as for anyone else."

And then he adds that

> Until about three years ago NAACP's predominant dependence, more or less, was upon labor unions, Socialists, certain Quakers, B'nai B'riths, Anti-defamation League, and Civil Liberties Union, disguised Communists, etc. . . .
>
> Today, its front offices are colored along with the bulk of its 350,000 paper members. However, at the top, it is white-dominated. Its president and treasurer are white, and half its board of directors.

With all its halo, I think, the most significant thing about the National Association of Northern White People for the Absorption of Colored People is the untold number of opportunities for Negro advancement it has deliberately ignored.

WHAT a farrago of misinformation and lies! Professor King, though obviously befuddled and writing for shabby reasons of publicity, must know, even though a high priest of history, that the NAACP was established as a civil-rights and not as an uplift organization. No one frets because the American Civil Liberties Union does not furnish bail for a petty thief. To admit the existence of race prejudice in the North is not to argue away racial barbarism in Mississippi: the credit squeeze, the Till murder, the assassinations of Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith, and the fact that every Negro becomes half a man once he crosses the Mississippi border.

The Negro race is not leaderless. And the NAACP itself has fought the battle for the American Negro for forty-eight years with honesty and courage. What Mr. King wants is the Booker T. Washington type of leadership, which he says, "was different." "He [Washington] successfully stood for orderly inter-racial relations. He asked whites to be fair. He asked Negroes to be realistic." The NAACP is not "white dominated." Though interracial, three-fourths of the NAACP board of directors are Negroes. And NAACP policy is not formulated by Mr. Walter Reuther, as the professor hints, nor by its white president and white treasurer, but by the annual conventions, ninety per cent of whose delegates are Negro.

WHAT Professor King is trying to do is to summarize the arguments of Southern whites against the NAACP. Anti-NAACP Southern whites have argued, and still argue, that NAACP goals are Communist inspired, that the Association is run by a handful of white radicals, with Negro members as stooges; that the Association is the arm of whatever political party that happens to be in power; that the Association in the South is an organization of outsiders (despite the fact that sixty per cent of our membership is in the South); that the NAACP misrepresents the aspirations of Southern Negroes; and that the "ultimate goal" of the NAACP is intermarriage.

Professor King is ignorant of the history and objectives of the NAACP, and we suspect that he is a genuine Uncle Tom, and, to use his own words, "a low, inconsistent, sneaking, double talking, character that neither white nor Negro can trust."

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

JOHNSON SMEAR DISAVOWED

THE United States Department of Justice has informed the NAACP that recent statements made by Manning Johnson, attempting to link the Association with the Communist party, do not reflect the views nor the findings of the Justice Department. This governmental agency also stated that Mr. Johnson is not one of its employees, as was reported in certain newspapers.

Mr. Johnson had testified before a Louisiana state legislative committee early in March, and was quoted in the press as having said that NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist party designed to overthrow the government of the United States." Mr. Johnson, an admitted former Communist, was described in press reports as "director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington."

Following Mr. Johnson's statement about the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, the Association's executive secretary, wrote to U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., for clarification of "(a) Manning Johnson's official position in the Department of Justice, if any, and (b) the official or unofficial nature of Manning Johnson's testimoney before the Louisiana legislative committee."

Mr. Wilkins also inquired of the U. S. Attorney General whether Mr. Johnson's testimony was "reflecting in any manner" the "official views or findings" of the U. S. Justice Department.

In reply to Mr. Wilkins' inquiry Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General of the Criminal Division, and Arthur B. Caldwell, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, gave assurance on April 8 that the witness was in no way connected with the Department and did not speak for it.

The former Communist's testimony "concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist party does not, in any manner, reflect the views of this Department or any findings it has made," the Justice Department letter asserts.

The letter further points out: "Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as Director of Research in this Department. Further, with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice."

In his letter of inquiry to the Justice Department, Mr. Wilkins referred to "swift moves being made to fasten a Communist label upon this Association," and maintained that a "grave injustice" would be done the NAACP if the federal agency failed to clarify its connection, if any, with Manning Johnson.

"In early March, a joint legislative committee on segregation of the State of Louisiana held hearings in Baton Rouge and heard invited witnesses, including three self-styled former Communists who testified on alleged connections between the Communists and the NAACP," Mr. Wilkins told the Justice Department in his letter, which was dispatched on March 28.

"One witness, Manning Johnson, is quoted in the March 18 issue of the weekly newsmagazine, *South*, as saying that the NAACP 'has become a vehicle of the Communist party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States'," the NAACP official's message continued.

"A dispatch from Baton Rouge, published in the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*, March 9, 1957, carried the same quotation of Manning Johnson's testimony.

"The account in *South* magazine and the one in the Charleston *News and Courier* described Manning Johnson as 'now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington.' The news stories cited and similar ones sent out from Baton Rouge and widely published throughout the South give the distinct impression that an official of the Department of Justice has branded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a 'vehicle of the Communist party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States.' "

SENATOR McCLELLAN BACKS DOWN

SENATOR JOHN L. McCLELLAN (Democrat, Arkansas) has modified his earlier statement that NAACP-sponsored witnesses had "committed perjury" in testimony before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights and that the "FBI made a check of them."

In reply to an inquiry from Roy Wilkins as to the accuracy of statements attributed to Senator McClellan in an Associated Press dispatch of April 1, the Arkansas senator said "that it appeared that they [the witnesses] may have committed perjury." He further explained that he "understood that the FBI had made a check on some incidents they had testified to and found their testimony to be untrue."

The NAACP has been informed that the FBI has made no investigation of any witnesses sponsored by the Association. A group of reputable southern witnesses testified before the Senate subcommittee on February 28 on behalf of the civil rights bill. Previously, Mr. Wilkins had appeared before the subcommittee on behalf of the NAACP and 24 other national organizations.

THESE TWENTY-TWO NAACP *presidents from Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia attended an NAACP campaign conference held in Washington, D.C., on February 17, to make plans for the 1957 fight for freedom campaign.*

LEADERS *in the New York Metropolitan Area membership campaign responsible for top production in the 1957 drive, from April 7 to June 30, are (from L) Chester Alston, Jamaica; Rosetta Beverly, Manhattan; Russell Crawford, president Manhattan branch; Mrs. Rosetta James, Corona; Ralph Davis, Hempstead; Laska Strachan, Central Long Island; and Atty. Florence Lucas, Jamaica.*

Layne's

Following publication of the Associated Press story, Mr. Wilkins wired the senator and asked if he had been correctly quoted. He pointed out that none of the other wire services mentioned the FBI. Neither in his statement as originally reported nor in his answer to Mr. Wilkins did Senator McClellan name the witnesses against whom he made the allegation of perjury.

The NAACP leader promptly expressed the Association's "full confidence in the integrity and veracity of all witnesses" it had sponsored. He added: "The record of civil rights violations is such that it does not require any exaggeration, elaboration or falsification."

ALCORN STUDENTS PLACED

TWO additional students who were expelled from the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College at Alcorn because of their role in the recent student protest against Professor Clennon King have been placed at Central State College in Xenia, Ohio.

The Association already had arranged the transfer to other colleges of five Alcorn students expelled for the same reason. Three of these were placed at Central State College and two at Virginia Union University in Richmond.

The seven students were expelled from the Mississippi college after they protested against Professor King because of a series of articles the teacher wrote for the Jackson (Miss.) *State Times* criticizing the NAACP's anti-segregation activities. The two expelled students most recently placed at Central State College are A. J. Fielder and John Rieley.

The student bodies and faculties of both Central State and Virginia Union were reported to have received the Mississippi students warmly. Addressing a special assembly, Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Central State, declared: "In a period when American institutions have given wide acceptance to refugees from Hungary who have struggled against the tyranny of a totalitarian regime, we are glad to be in the midst of those who paralleled this situation in American life with the acceptance of the refugees of freedom from the State of Mississippi."

Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of Virginia Union, declared that his university "is proud to cooperate with the NAACP in helping to keep the students of Alcorn College in school. We have welcomed to our campus Robessie Young and Susan Owens. They have already begun to make friends here and, I am sure, the disruption in their education will be less severe because of the interest the NAACP has shown in them."

Today, all the displaced students were reported to be studying hard to make up for the time lost from their studies. The students received tuition, travel expenses, and an incidental expense fund from the NAACP for the remainder of the school semester. This action on the part of the Association was taken by the NAACP Committee on Administration at its regular monthly meeting on March 25.

DELEGATES *in attendance at the Imhotep National Conference on Hospital Integration which met in the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., March 8-9.* BOTTOM: *Officers of NAACP youth councils and college chapters in the Greater New York Area in attendance at the meeting of the New Jersey Coordinating Council Leadership Conference held at Holiday Hills, Pawling, New York, March 8-10.*

ALABAMA BAN

THE United States Supreme Court has been asked to review the contempt judgment against the NAACP in Alabama and the $100,000 fine levied against the Association by circuit court Judge Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, Alabama.

Lawyers for the Association filed a petition for writ of certiorari with the Supreme Court on March 20, charging that the Alabama court order "is a serious interference with essential freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and the right to petition and sue to seek enforcement of this Court's decisions against state enforced racial segregation."

The Alabama courts, the petition points out, "could not constitutionally prohibit such action by Negroes to vindicate their civil rights." However, the petition continues, "in the special circumstances existing in Alabama, an effective restraint on such action was accomplished by the order to produce the membership lists and the order of contempt for failure to produce."

The NAACP was banned by court order in Alabama on July 25, 1956, and fined for contempt because the Association refused to turn over to the state's attorney general the list of its members in that state. At that time, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, explained that the Association was withholding the names because "NAACP members in Alabama and elsewhere in the South have been subjected to economic pressures, personal threats and acts of violence for no cause other than their membership in the NAACP and their support of equality for all citizens."

The Supreme Court of Alabama upheld Judge Jones' ruling against the Association. Whereupon, the Association lawyers took steps to take an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. This is the first instance in which the NAACP has presented a petition to the high court to lift a state injunction against the Association. In addition to Alabama, state courts in Louisiana and Texas also issued injunctions against the NAACP.

The NAACP lawyers, Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall of New York, Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham and Fred D. Gray of Montgomery, assert in the petition to the Supreme Court that "the questions involved in this case are perhaps the most important Fourteenth Amendment questions presented to this Court in the wake of the school segregation cases," for, if the Alabama ruling is allowed to stand, efforts to secure compliance with the federal court's school rulings and decisions in related cases "may be effectively evaded in other states as well as in Alabama."

The petition further charges that Negro citizens in the states which continue to evade the Supreme Court's ruling "are for many reasons unable to exercise their indivadual rights of freedom of speech and assembly or to

Gaffney Photographers

PLANS *for the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom were planned and announced in Washington on April 5 by (from L at table) the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Montgomery bus protest movement; A. Phillip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO; and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. The Freedom Pilgrimage, whose planning conference was attended by 77 leaders of church and civic groups, organized labor, fraternal organizations and NAACP units from fifteen states, brought 50,000 civil-rights advocates from all sections of the country to the nation's capital. The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom took place on the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation school decision. It commemorated the Court's decision, supported federal civil-rights legislation, and protested southern violence and resistance to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decrees.*

combine to effectively exert political pressure to bring about a change in the status quo. The only effective relief has been through legal action in the courts. Consequently, the entire panoply of state power has been invoked for the purpose of insulating state policies of racial segregation against successful attack in the courts."

CONVENTION KEYNOTER

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, will deliver the keynote address on the opening night of the Association's 48th annual convention in Detroit, Michigan, on June 25. Another major convention address will be made by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. The 48th annual convention will close on Sunday, June 30.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The superior court of California has under submission a 106-page brief filed by attorneys for Oliver A. Ming, a Negro veteran, whose suit against scores of builders in this country may strike down racial discrimination in tract homes in California and possibly throughout the nation.

Grotto No. Nine, located on San Francisco's famous "Fisherman's Wharf," is named in a suit filed by Maxine Butler and Philip Gordon, both Negroes, who charge that a Grotto No. Nine waiter refused to permit them to occupy a booth overlooking the wharf "solely by reason of [the] plaintiffs' race and color."

The suit alleges that "for a period of at least ten years . . . defendants [Grotto #9] have engaged in a policy of practices of flagrantly violating the rights of Negro customers in all manner and means by resorting to petty, vicious and contemptible practices designed to humiliate Negro customers and to discourage their patronage, a fact well-known throughout San Francisco's Negro community."

The plaintiffs are seeking a total of $2,000 in damages.

Attorney Norman Howard, representing the PALO-ALTO-STANFORD branch, and Lester Bailey, field secretary, representing the West Coast Region, petitioned the Standford university board of trustees in March urging non-discrimination housing and employment provisions covering institutional properties under consideration for leasing to private builders and developers. Immediately affected are the 940 Stanford Hills acres being sought by private interests.

Frederic O. Glover, assistant to the Stanford president, wrote Mr. Bailey, March 21, 1957, that the university trustees, after considering the NAACP request, "reaffirmed in that respect the policy under which it has leased its lands for some years for residential and other use. There are no discriminatory clauses in leases made by the university with developers of university properties for residential or other use, nor do such discriminatory clauses exist in any leases or sub-leases of university properties. The university would not condone any attempt to use any such discriminatory clauses, but at the same time sees neither reason nor necessity for insertion of the requested clauses."

Illinois: An all-out program to tackle the underlying problems of segregation and discrimination in Chicago is being mapped by the CHICAGO branch. The major project for 1957 is the campaign to secure the adoption and implementation by the local board of education of a policy of integration in the Chicago public schools.

More than a score of civic, church, labor, and other organizations supported the Association's fight for freedom by sponsoring tables at the branch's

THE REVEREND MR. GEORGE WHITE *(center), choir director, presents a $1,000 check for the NAACP's Freedom Fund on behalf of the First Baptist Church, Cranford, New Jersey, to Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, as Dr. Benjamin W. P. Allen (left), pastor, and Samuel Haynes (second from right), former Newark, New Jersey, branch president and New Jersey* Afro-American *editor, look on. Dr. Allen's church also gave the Freedom Fund $1,000 through the Plainfield, New Jersey, branch in 1955.*

annual benefit tea organized by the Women's Auxiliary of the branch. The tea was held on March 17 at the Parkway Ballroom.

The CHAMPAIGN-URBANA branch has adopted the CLAYTON, Alabama, branch. In accepting this responsibility, the local branch takes over the quota of 150 members and a $100 contribution to the fight for freedom fund that the Alabama branch would have achieved if it had been allowed to continue its activities.

The representatives of branches, youth councils, and college chapters in Illinois held a regional conference on March 31 at the Emerson Street YMCA in EVANSTON.

Michigan: NAACP special assistant for housing Madison Jones addressed a mass meeting of the GRAND RAPIDS branch in January. Jolee Fritz, a former student of the Women's College at the University of North Carolina, dismissed from the college for belonging to the NAACP, told a branch mass meeting in February about her experiences in the South. "Your Civil Rights" was the theme of the March mass meeting, with Douglas Hillman, of the Human Relations Commission, and Russell Ballard, of the FEPC Claims Division in Detroit, as the featured speakers.

Minnesota: The SAINT PAUL branch has gone on record as favoring anti-discriminatory state housing legislation, passage of the Rice Harvesting Bill, which would protect the economic interests of Indians as well as aid the state's conservation program, and the establishment of an Indian bureau to protect the economic development of the Indians.

New York: The JAMAICA branch sponsored a Girls' Cotillion at the Waldorf-Astoria on May 31.

Ohio: The COLUMBUS branch has secured top membership campaign personnel to head its 1957 membership drive. This is the fourth year that the branch has used the short, concentrated type of drive. Mrs. Adoria Whittaker is campaign director, and she will be assisted by Lloyd E. Squaer, second vice-president of the branch; Dr. Watson Walker, life membership chairman; Dr. John Rosemond, promotion chairman; Mrs. Betty Jackson, Mrs. Jeanne Bowen, and Mrs. Mary Jeanne Weston, all special assistants to the campaign director.

YOUTH COUNCIL *and college chapter officers plan 1957 spring youth membership drive in New York office. From L, Herbert Wright, youth director; Joseph Brown, president Manhattan youth council; Elsa Gibbs, adviser New York and New Jersey youth coordinating council; William Cohen, president Brooklyn College chapter; Michael Shute, representing Columbia University chapter; and James Speller, president Bronx youth council.*

Layne's

THE EAST ROCK LODGE #41, IBPOE of W *of New Haven, Connecticut, receives its NAACP life membership plaque, on occasion of its golden anniversary celebration, from Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee. Pictured, from L. are John Robinson, general chairman; Kivie Kaplan of Boston; Dr. Carter Marshall, co-chairman of the New Hayen branch life membership committee; Sylvester W. Mark, exalted ruler East Rock Lodge; James L. Mitchell, chairman of the anniversary celebration; and Charles A. Hubbard, co-chairman of the branch life membership committee.*

Pennsylvania: Executive secretary Roy Wilkins was keynote speaker at the agency's dinner meeting of the Region II conference held in the Drake Hotel in PHILADELPHIA.

Appalled at the "oppression" of southern Negroes, The Associated Real Estate Brokers of Philadelphia and the local branch have launched a joint city-wide drive to collect funds for the relief of these injustices. Jason C. Arrington, prominent local real estate broker and chairman of the AREBP board of directors, has been appointed to head the drive.

The Philadelphia branch has been promised the support of local beauticians in its membership campaign.

Virginia: The PETERSBURG branch presented the Reverend Mr. Ralph D.

Abernathy of the First Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, and who is also first vice-president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, in a public program on March 25 at the Zion Baptist Church.

Reverend Abernathy told an overflow audience that we have dedicated ourselves to achieving freedom in this generation. The orders are "Forward, March!". We will not stop until total integration is won. In his stirring address, entitled "The Walk to Freedom," the dynamic minister stated that Montgomery, the cradle of the Confederacy, has been transformed into the cradle of Freedom. We in Montgomery walked for 381 days, we sacrificed tired feet for rested souls.

The Reverend Mr. Abernathy was introduced by W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia conference of the NAACP.

Announcement was made by James Merritt, chairman of the membership drive, that, as of that date, over 500 memberships had been solicited. It was also announced that the Petersburg branch had raised $500 in the adopt-a-branch campaign.

REV. MR. JOHN B. QUICK, *president of the Columbus, Ohio, branch of the NAACP. Mary Jane Patterson is secretary; Barbee W. Durham, executive secretary. This branch, now in the midst of its membership campaign, has more than 4,000 members.*

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College and School News

HAMPTON INSTITUTE is the first college in the country to repay in full a loan made to it under the College Housing Program, according to housing administrator Albert M. Cole.

A loan of $775,000 was made to Hampton by the Housing and Home Finance Agency on December 12, 1951, to be used together with $112,996 of the college's own funds to build a dormitory for 257 men students. The building was first occupied in September 1954 and was dedicated on October 30, 1954.

■

Dedication and open house of the WALTER F. WHITE SCHOOL, at River Rouge, Michigan, was held on March 3. The dedicatory address was made by Edward Turner, NAACP state president. The school, which cost $762,449.02, has a pupil capacity of 433, offices, 15 regular classrooms, 2 kindergartens, multi-purpose room, teachers' lounges, and bookrooms.

■

William B. Saxbe, attorney general of Ohio, was awarded the honorary Doctor of Laws degree by CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE during the 70th anniversary celebration and annual charter day observance. Trustees, faculty, alumni, and students contributed $7,158.45 toward student loans and faculty research.

Central State has appointed Dr. Lewis A. Jackson as acting dean of the college, to serve until June.

■

Four recent speakers at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY include Boyd Weaver of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, subject: "Making Rare Earths Less Rare"; Dr. René Girard of Bryn Mawr college, subjects: "Evolution of French Criticism in the 20th Century" and "French Perspectives in 1957"; Dr. William J. Faulkner of the Park Manor Congregational Church of Chicago, subject: three messages during religious emphasis week; and Dr. Lewis M. Killian of Florida State university, subject: "Problems of Consensus in the Changing South."

President Rufus Clement and registrar Dr. Paul Clifford made off-campus addresses. Dr. Clement addressed the 127th anniversary dinner of Rhode Island chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Brown university on the subject, "Second American Reconstruction." Dr. Clifford was one of the speakers at the sixth annual Florida Guidance Council held at Florida A&M university.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE held its twelfth Institute on Marriage and Successful Family Living March 13-15. Sponsored by the department of sociology, the theme of this year's institute was "The Art of Staying Happily Married."

A faculty committee has selected three Morehouse students to receive

travel-study grants of $2,500 each for a year in Europe during the academic year 1957-1958. The students selected are Brinston Collins, senior, a political science major from Norfolk, Virginia; William Glass, junior, a history major from Red Oak (near Atlanta), Georgia; and Andre D. Hammonda, junior, a psychology major from Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Two faculty couples, Mr. and Mrs. G. Murray Branch and Mr. and Mrs. William M. Nix, also received travel grants for the summer of 1957 from the same friend who makes possible these student travel-study grants.

■

Annual founders' day exercises were held at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE on April 6, with Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mount Olivet Tabernacle Baptist church, Philadelphia, as guest speaker.

Seven FSTC seniors, all North Carolinians, have qualified for the bachelor's degree in elementary education.

■

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, professor of sociology at Guilford college, North Carolina, addressed UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN students in March on changing social patterns in the South.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE's Singer A. Buchanan has been awarded a Danforth Study Grant for 1957. He is one of fifty-seven candidates to be selected.

■

The Rev. Dr. James H. Robinson, senior pastor of the Church of the Master, New York City, was speaker on March 26 at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH on "Africa—A Challenge to Democracy and a Prize for Communism."

■

Dr. Benjamin Robeson, pastor of the Mother Zion AMEZ church in New York City, was founders' day speaker at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNI-

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DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

VERSITY on April 7. Dr. Robeson was a classmate of Smith's president, Hardy Liston, graduating from JCSU in 1911.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY held its annual drama festival, with the presentation of twelve plays, March 22-23. The university's annual religious emphasis week was observed March 3-7. The week's theme was "The Role of Christianity in a Complex Society."

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE has added its first full-time instructor in psychiatric nursing in the person of Lois Belle Sellers. Miss Sellers brings a rich background of training and experience to her job.

Meharry has received $31,705 in the latest grant from the National Fund for Medical Education, bringing Meharry's total grants since 1951 to $165,463.

Meharry's new nursing program will permit a student who has completed one year of liberal arts to be eligible for a B.S. in nursing after two and three-quarter years of liberal and professional education at Meharry. Approved by the Tennessee Board of Nursing, the new program begins in September 1957.

Dr. Harold D. West, Meharry president, has been nominated and elected a trustee of the Middle Tennessee Mental Association, his term expires at the end of May 1959.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was host April 3-6 to the Ninth Annual Headliner Week, an annual affair supervised by the Lincoln School of journalism.

Lincoln was host in March to the annual Farmers and Homemakers Conference, attended by about 150 persons representing farmers and homemakers from all areas of Missouri.

Art department head James Parks spoke on a panel at the annual meeting of the College Teachers of Art Education Section of the National

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Art Education Association held in Los Angeles, California, April 16-19. Mr. Parks was invited by Dr. Harry G. Guillaume, chairman of the CTAES.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE has reorganized its college program to provide selective admission, a new three-level freshman curriculum, and the screening of students at the end of the sophomore year.

■

President Samuel B. Gould of Antioch college was SPELMAN COLLEGE's 76th anniversary day speaker. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Haverford college, was second speaker on March 5 in the Spelman lecture series.

Jeanelle Stovall of Atlanta has been chosen by the college to receive a $3,000 scholarship for foreign travel and study for two summers and one year. The gift establishing this scholarship was made to Spelman by an anonymous donor.

■

Dr. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, and Dr. Mark C. Ebersole, Bucknell university, were speakers at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY's annual week of prayer.

The university honored Dr. John W. Barco, a member of the university's first graduating class, at a testimonial service in the school chapel on March 31. Dr. Barco is the only living member of the class of 1902.

The university choir left for its annual eastern spring tour on March 10. Talented soprano Afele Addison

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Registrar, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

was presented in concert on the campus on March 5.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host on March 23 to The Industrial Club of Virginia, and to the second annual All-State High School Music Program April 4-6. The All-State Music Program replaces the annual State Music Festival which had been held at the college for a period of more than twenty years.

Five VSC students made straight "A" averages last semester, according to college registrar Louise Barrett. A fire of undetermined origin broke out on the second floor of the biology laboratory in Colson Science Hall in March, but was quickly brought under control.

Dr. Roy Nichols, vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Arthur Gray, president of Talladega, were recent campus speakers.

■

The UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND is going to the American people in 1957 for two million dollars to help finance the current operations of thirty-one private, accredited member colleges.

Dillard university president Albert W. Dent and *Cleveland Press* editor Louis Seltzer were principal speakers at the national opening of the UNCF's fourteenth annual appeal held in the Waldorf-Astoria on April 1.

■

Murals by the well-known illustrator Robert Osborn — spoofing AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY activities ranging from digging for dinosaurs to preparing elephants for display—have been installed in the Museum's main cafeteria and went on view on March 27.

Dr. Dean Amadon has been appointed as chairman of the department of birds of the Museum, assuming the position formerly held by the late Dr. John Todd Zimmer. Dr. Amadon is also Museum curator of birds.

■

The twelfth district meeting of the OMEGA PSI PHI fraternity held in Los Angeles, California, elected the following officers: district representative, John Long; first vice-president, Charles Turner; second vice-president, Willie Hopkins; keeper of records and seals, Allen Woodard; and keeper of finance, William Warren. The 1958 session will be held in San Francisco.

■

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NEW YORK CITY'S unique musical group is the Interracial Fellowship Chorus, whose members embrace three faiths —Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish—and many racial groups. Sponsors of the IFC are also interracial and they include, among many others, W. C. Handy, Rev. James H. Robinson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick.

The Interracial Fellowship Chorus was founded in 1947 by the Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York, an organization devoted to the fostering of interracial and interfaith understanding through a variety of social and cultural activities. When the Fellowship disbanded in 1952, the Chorus membership, determined to continue the pursuit of this objective through the performance of great choral music, incorporated as the Interracial Music Council, the Chorus' present sponsor.

The IFC presently consists of about 150 voices. Its members are of many ages and walks of life. Membership is open to all, subject only to numerical limitations to preserve musical balance; there are absolutely no auditions. The IFC maintains its interracial character by actively recruiting members among the City's diverse population groups and by singing frequently in Negro and other churches throughout New York.

The Chorus presents two major concerts each season, generally either in St. Michael's Church at 99th Street and Amsterdam Avenue or in Town Hall. It specializes in the performance of the more rarely-heard classics, as for example its highly successful presentation of "Judas Maccabeus" (Handel) two winters ago, and the introduction of contemporary works, such as the first American performance last spring of Darius Milhaud's choral suite, "Barba Garibo." For this spring's tenth anniversary concert in Carnegie Hall, the IFC has commissioned a new work by Marc Blitztein.

As its major musical project, the IFC plans the performance of all of Haydn's twelve extant masses in their original version. These masses were written between the composer's

(*Continued on page* 318)

United Press

FRESHENING UP—*As Iris Waller (left), "Miss Britain of 1957," holds up a compact mirror, 22-year-old Monica Amekoafi, "Miss Ghana of 1957," powders her face prior to attending a reception in London, England, on April 4. Miss Amekoafi, whose name means "King Maker," won her title during the March independence celebrations in Ghana. Her statistics are 40-38-46.* BOTTOM: *Every kind of transportation was pressed into service to help the cause during the Negro boycott of buses (January 7-April 1) in Johannesburg, South Africa.*

Some of the banqueters at West Coast NAACP dinner held in San José, California, in January, are (seated from L) Nathaniel Colley, Maurice Hardiman, and Lauren Miller; standing, Robert Lawrence, Dr. L. V. English, and Willie Norman.

Harlem Hospital School of Nursing, Class of '29, New York City, makes first payment on NAACP life membership to New York branch. Pictured (from L) are Mrs. Ella Lewis, secretary; Mrs. Audrey Burke, president, handing check to branch president Russell Crawford; and Mrs. Alice Belasco, treasurer.

Layne's

Felix Spinosa (right), president of the Ozanam Guild, presents a check to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. The contribution represents funds donated by Guild members during a special NAACP campaign in the New York City Welfare Department. The Guild is an organization of Catholic employees of the Welfare Department.

Layne's Studi

MEMBERS *of the Scalawags reaffirmed their support of the NAACP's Fight For Freedom Campaign by presenting a check towards their NAACP life membership at a recent meeting. Mrs. Dorothy S. Jones (lower center, left) presents the check to Marion Stewart, NAACP life membership campaign. The others pictured are (second row, from L) Gertrude Hawkins, Maxine Magill, Harriet Trice, Adele Hairston, Eve McLain, and Aretha McKinley; (back row) De Vera Edwards, Dorothy Yates, Fritzie Magill, Dorothy F. Jones, Roberta Bruce, and Trini Walker, hostess to the club meeting. Mrs. Josephine Durham, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a member, was not present.*

Book Reviews

SPANISH JOURNEY

***Pagan Spain.* By Richard Wright. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 241pp. $4.00.**

This book recounts Mr. Wright's experiences in Spain during the fall of '54 and the spring of '55, and also attempts to relate these experiences to a number of wider themes: the Falange and the Franco dictatorship, Spain as a slovenly run police state, the ubiquitous Civil Guard with their menacing machine guns, Spanish use of sex as a medium of exchange, and the inquisitorial canons of Spanish Catholicism. He found that power in Spain is shared by the Falange, the State, the Army, and the Church; with the Church, he believes, as the most powerful repressive agency. "In Spain," he says, "there was no lay, no secular life, Spain was a holy nation, a sacred state—a state as sacred and as irrational as the sacred state of the Akan in the African jungle. . . . Even the prostitution, the corruption, the economics, the politics had about them a sacred aura."

Spanish agriculture he found to be primitive, land ownership concentrated in the hands of absentee owners, wages low, and unemployment and poverty widespread. Spain, he says, has deified tradition, and her ruling clique is continually harking back to her glorious past as a once proud colonial power. They had much rather resurrect the Spanish Empire than modernize the country. He says that Spain is not Christian, not even Catholic. Spain is really pagan, she has "been sucked into the maw of a paganism buried deep in the hearts of the people. And the nature and function of Catholicism had enabled that paganism to remain intact."

Mr. Wright's introspective report is livened by vivid sketches of flamenco dancers, prostitutes, pimps, the processions of Holy Week, bullfighters, and a bullfight. He saw people crossing themselves before the mummified body of a bishop, sheep ambling down one of the broad avenues of Barcelona, a well-dressed woman walking barefoot for penance in the streets of the same city, people visiting the shrine of the Black Virgin; and there is a vivid sketch of his coach companions on a train trip to Grenada. He noticed that the Church's preoccupation with sin has produced sex obsession in the people. He remarks that though it is bad to be a prostitute, the Spaniards regard it as much worse to be a prostitute who is not a Catholic.

Mr. Wright admits that he did not penetrate to the heart of the Spanish temperament, which could hardly be expected in a visitor who knew no Spanish and who admits that he is not a Hispanist. But then, even the late Havelock Ellis, a profound student of

Spain, had to admit that "the Spanish temperament is not of a nature that is easily grasped." One Spaniard, Ruiz Zorrilla, claims: "All Spaniards are either Catholics or rationalists. The Catholics expect miracles; the rationalists, a lucky drawing in the National Lottery." What Mr. Wright lacks in erudition he makes up for in intuitive understanding of a people who have a psychological affinity in many ways with American Negroes. Pagan Spain is a lively and provocative book despite the fact that many of his interpretations are open to question. His thesis of a pagan Spain is worth thinking about.

JAMES W. IVY

BACKSTAGE STORY

Je Suis Un Civilisé [I Am a Civilized Man]. Par A. E. Whily-Tell. Paris: Société d'Impressions de Lancry, 1953. 253 pp.

Few American tourists watching the nudes on the stage at the Folies-Bergère, 32 Rue Richer, Paris, are aware that one of the men responsible for the show is the Guiana-born Negro A. E. Whily-Tell, formerly assistant manager and now director of publicity and public relations. Mr. Whiley-Tell's book, though published four years ago, has just been brought to the attention of *The Crisis*.

Mr. Whily-Tell, christened Guillaume Tell, was born into a respectable middle-class family in Cayenne, the eldest of three children. His father was for a time *Commissaire Rapporteur* with the *Tribunal Maritime*, a job in which he dealt with the various crimes committed by Cayenne convicts. He later became the first and only Negro director of the Colonial Penitentiary Administration, a position which his son says was equivalent to being governor of French Guiana. Conscious of his position, Whily-Tell's father wanted his children to get a good education, which they could not receive in Cayenne beyond the elementary school. So little Guillaume was packed off to France to Montauban in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne where he entered the local *lycée*. He later transferred to the *lycée* at Toulouse, from which he graduated. He then joined the Sixteenth Regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, becoming the youngest brigadier in the regiment, and later the Fifth Dragoons. Back in "civies," he moved to Paris where he took charge of an auto-rental service, arranging automobile tours to the Bois de Boulogne, the Côte d'Azur, Belgium and Switzerland. Outbreak of war in 1914 put Whily-Tell back in uniform and the auto-rental agency out of business.

Upon return to civilian life, he got a job as clerk and then as a *chef de portefeuille* in a bank on the Rue Cambon, moving soon thereafter to a similar job with a bank on the Boulevard Haussmann. To supplement his income, he took the suggestion of an American Negro, Joe Boy, and got himself a job as banjo player at the Empire. Although he had known nothing about the banjo, he managed to teach himself to play well enough to hold the job until the show closed. One day in 1925 one of his neighbors, a Folies show-girl who knew that he wanted night work, suggested that he try out for Habib Benglia's *black troupe* then being organized for a Folies revue. When Benglia's black troupe was replaced with Josephine Baker's revue, Whily-Tell was again out of a theatrical job. Art director Pierre Fréjol told him to leave his address and that at the first opening he would add Whily-Tell to the Folies staff.

When an old employee quit, Fréjol added Whily-Tell to the staff as factotum. This was in 1926 and Whily-Tell gave up his bank job to devote his life to the Folies-Bergère, working up to be assistant manager and finally to the post of director of publicity and

public relations. His fluent command of English and Spanish were, he says, helpful in his work.

The author devotes 57 pages of his book to summaries and comments on Folies revues from 1926 to 1952. The only one in which the word "folie" did not appear, he says, was the 1932 *La Revue d'Amour*. He has interesting comments on some of the performers, but few revealing anecdotes. Josephine Baker he describes in lyric terms as physically "la perfection des perfection," and as having "une grâce incomparable" and a "talent unique. . . . Elle était formidable cette Joséphine." Singularly enough Miss Baker does not mention Whily-Tell anywhere in her *Les Mémoires de Joséphine Baker* (Corrêa, 1949), although she does describe Derval as "the king of directors." Nor does Paul Derval, owner-manager of the Folies-Bergère, Mr. Whily-Tell's boss, mention his director of public relations in *Folies-Bergère* (Les Editions de Paris, 1954). Féral Benga, the Senegalese, is mentioned as the "best Negro dancer in Paris," and Babe Wallace and Miss Fortunia, both Negroes, are also mentioned. He thinks highly of the Peters Sisters, whom Michel Gyarmathy asked him to persuade to replace Miss Baker.

Mr. Whily-Tell turns mentor in his last 52 pages (7 chapters) with comments on German and American racism and "the transparent gauze curtain" which in France separates black Frenchmen from white. Theoretically this "veil" does not exist, but it is there, he says, *"un voile léger, très, léger,"* and always visible, no matter how imperceptible, to the black man. Negroes are liked in France, of course; but not, he says, in the same manner in which whites are liked. Outside of the music-halls, he asks, where are the Negroes? Where are the black salesladies in jewelry and department stores? Where are the black private chauffeurs, the maîtres d'hôtels, the theatre ushers, the

A. E. WHILY-TELL, *formerly assistant manager of the Folies-Bergère, Paris, France, and now director of publicity and public relations.*

Harcourt, Paris

cashiers, the small business men, and the *mannequins de couture?* A few are found in all these occupations, but their number is far from commensurate with the black population of Overseas France. Why is it that Paris attracts the black criminal rather then the black worker? Stereotyped opinions about the Negro, so often spread by "evil colonials," explain some of French distrust of the Negro. And many French mothers discipline their children with: "If you don't behave, I'll give you to the black man. He eats little children." A white Frenchman, however, Mr. Paul Derval, gave him a chance and he made good with hard work, study, initiative, and efficiency. What Mr. Derval has done, Mr. Whily-Tell feels, other Frenchmen can do.

Commenting on the German occupation of France, he says that he learned enough German to talk with occupation officials in their own language; that there was a rumor that the Germans had tacked signs on certain French railroad stations reading: "No Jews, dogs, and Niggers allowed"; that the Germans issued an order, which he could never confirm, that Negroes were not to ride first-class in the Paris subway. He himself was once forbidden first-class Metro passage when in the company of Maurice Hermite, a French-speaking German officer. He could never ascertain, however, whether this was a German ukase or the officiousness of a pettifogging ticket puncher. It was also believed in theatrical circles that the Germans forbade the appearance of "colored artists" on the French stage, then under German control. Facts were that neither Habib Benglia nor Féral Benga, *"si aimés* à Paris jusqu'ici," found employment during the occupation, that Paris cabarets refused to hire Negro musicians, and that plays with Negro roles were not produced.

Mr. Whily-Till doubts, despite the facts just listed, that the Germans ever issued such an order, at least openly. Henri Varna, director of the Casino de Paris, he says, opened a revue with the two popular creole dancers Sadia and Sonia, keeping them on stage for two years, and that he himself remained Mr. Derval's right-hand man throughout the occupation.

I Am a Civilized Man, though entertaining and informative, is not a well-organized book. It is a hodgepodge of reminisences filled with snippets of information on first one topic and then the other. Just as the reader gets absorbed in one episode he finds it suddenly replaced five pages farther on with another which is quite often disparate.

JAMES W. IVY

SOME PAPERBACKS

HERE are five new Modern Library Paperbacks, priced at 95¢ each, published by Random House in New York City:

***Troilus And Cressida.* By Geoffrey Chaucer. 309pp.**

Chaucer's adaptation of Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* rendered into modern English verse by the late Dr. George Philip Krapp. Boccaccio emphasizes passion; Chaucer, character.

***True Tales From The Annals Of Crime And Rascality.* By St. Clair McKelway. 339pp.**

Some of these true stories appeared originally in the pages of *The New Yorker.* Among them are "The Wily Wilby," embezzler extraordinary; "Mister 880," the septuagenarian counterfeiter who made only dollar bills and eluded the Secret Service for ten years; and Tong leader Mock Duck or Mock Sai Wing. Every reader will be interested in this colorful gallery of rouges and rascals.

***The Pursuit Of Love.* By Nancy Mitford. 247pp.**

The heroine of this comedy of love and manners is Linda Radlett, a charming upperclass English woman. Her pursuit of love carries her through two marriages to a liaison with a wealthy Frenchman that turns out to be the real love of her life.

***The Kreutzer Sonata.* By Leo Tolstoy. 119pp.**

This *récit*, one of Tolstoy's most misunderstood works, caused bitter debate at the time of its appearance in 1889. Pozdynshev, the insane Russian aristocrat who tells the tale, insists that marriage is forbidden Christians with strong sensual appetites and weak moral restraints. Tolstoy said that he wanted to do away with the false conception that sexual relationships were necessary for health. The title is taken from Beethoven's sonata for piano and violin in A, op. 47, popularly called the *Kreutzer Sonata* because of its dedication to Beethoven's friend Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831).

***The Iceman Cometh.* By Eugene O'Neill. 260pp.**

O'Neill's classic play which plumbs the depths of human despair. Full text of this controversial play.

***Edge Of The City.* By Frederik Pohl. New York: Ballantine Books, 1957. 156pp. 35c.**

A novelization by Mr. Pohl based upon the screenplay by Robert Alan Aurthur. Tough story of two dock workers, one white and one Negro, who find themselves involved in human as well as racial problems. The story portrays racial equality in action.

***The Strange Career Of Jim Crow.* By C. Vann Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. A Galaxy Book. New and revised edition. 183pp. $1.50.**

The John Hopkins University professor of American history sets out dispassionately and clearly the evolution of legal jim crow as we know it today. "Segregation is, after all," he points out, "only the latest phase in the long history of the white man's ways of fixing the Negro's status, his 'place.' " The first jim crow law was passed by the Mississippi legislature in 1865.

NEGRO SOLDIER

***The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865.* By Dudley Taylor Cornish. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956. XIII+337 pp. $6.00.**

This is a good book. It contains enlightening materials pertaining to the Negro in Civil War armies "out beyond the Mississippi," both Rebel and Union. It also records more in terms of what went on in the minds of whites high up in authority as to the use of colored troops, and what those in favor had to overcome to attain their objective. There are newspaper reports and editorials from them that lend real value to anyone wishing to assess this aspect of the race problem in the United States. And there is much helpful historical data here from Civil War officers to refute the disparaging remarks of such modern day Generals as Mark Clark and President Dwight D. Eisenhower as to the ability of the Negro in warfare. This is a volume that anyone writing American history needs to have at his elbow, and that every library ought to have on its shelves; for this is history in retrospect whose contemporary worth is enhanced because of the valuable contribution it makes towards dispelling long-held falsehoods about the capacity of the Negro as a military man.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

FELLOWSHIP CHORUS

(*Continued from page* 309)

17th and 70th years and include his first and his last preserved and completed works. Since they all conform to the set form of the Catholic Mass and span Haydn's entire creative life, they afford a unique study in his musical development. With the exception of the Lord Nelson Mass, it is believed that none had previously been performed in New York with orchestra as Haydn wrote them. This spring's concert at Carnegie Hall will offer the sixth in the Haydn Mass series.

Under the direction of Harold Aks, now also the conductor of the Sarah Lawrence, Walden and Dalton School choruses, and David Labovitz, associate Conductor, the IFC has achieved a notable musical standard. The fact that such results can be achieved by a singing group without entrance requirements constantly astounds its press critics, who find that the IFC measures up to the standard of any of New York's other amateur choruses.

On May 5 the IFC presented Haydn's "Schöpfungsmesse' ("Creation" Mass) in its first complete American performance at Carnegie Hall, New York City.

CHICAGO RACIAL PATTERNS

(*Continued from page* 265)

oping social orientation most of our youth uneasily follow. Nor is the adult, responsible majority of the American people unaware of this pattern. Aware also of its dangerous implications, they nevertheless rarely have the moral courage to face up to its demands for action. They prefer to take conservative and totally inadequate steps to correct a few individual and highly publicized situations. For the most part they seem to hope that by ignoring the basic contributory factors in the total mess it can be somehow expected to go away.

These people love their country. They respect all its major institutions, including its Supreme Court. But they would rather forget that that Court enunciated a new principle and a new law on May 17, 1954. They want neither mixed schools, mixed residential communities, mixing in places of public accommodation or mixed houses of worship, if this means building an understanding and cordial relationship with dark-skinned Americans. They talk glibly of progress in terms of moderation, of gradualism, but they do nothing to set such procedures in motion. Hundreds of schools in the North remain as segregated as any in the South, three years after the all-important Supreme Court decision. New York City has made a tremendous effort to correct this situation; a few other northern cities have timidly approached the matter, but shied away from its demands for personal and social reorganization. America's youth and America's future must pay the price of our fear and inertia. Alvin Palmer and Joseph Schwartz have paid their installment, in full.

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64th ANNUAL CONDENSED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Southern Aid Life Insurance Co., Inc.

AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1956

— ASSETS —

Cash	$ 133,861.52
Stocks and Bonds	1,559,066.73
Policy Loans, Mortgages and Real Estate	1,805,010.88
Interest, Rents and Premiums Due and Accrued	46,352.74
Total	$3,544,291.87

— LIABILITIES —

Legal Reserve on Outstanding Policies	$2,172,478.30
Reserved for Claims, Taxes, Dividends and Misc.	164,486.40
	$2,336,964.70
Capital, Contingent Reserves and Surplus	1,207,327.17
Total	$3,544,291.87

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